VOL. VII. No. 3.] LONDON, SATURDAY, JANUARY 19, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"It must be remembered, that, since the revolution, until the period we are speaking of, the influence "of the Crown had been always employed in supporting the Ministers of State, and in carrying on the "public business according to their opinions. But the party now in question is formed upon a very different "idea. It is to intercept the favour, protection, and confidence of the Crown, in the passage to its Minis-"ters; it is to come between them and their importance in parliament; it is to separate them from all their "natural and acquired dependencies; it is intended as the control, not the support, of administration. The "machinery of this system is perplexed in its movements, and false in its principle. It is formed on a sup-"position, that the King is something external to his government; and that he may be honoured and ag-"grandized, even by its debility and disgrace. The plan proceeds expressly on the idea of enfeebling the "regular executive power. It proceeds on the idea of weakening the State, in order to strengthen the Court. "The scheme depending entirely on distrust, on disconnexion, on mutability by principle, on systematic "weakness in every particular member; it is impossible that the total result should be substantial strength "of any kind."——BURKE's Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents.

65] [66

INCAPACITY OF HENRY THE SIXTH.

LETTER VII.

[The reader is desired to compare the facts stated in the following letter with those (relating to the same matters) which he will find in the several histories of the times and events here spoken of; because, as the subject is of great constitutional importance, it is material that we should yield to the writer that superiority, in point of accuracy, which, upon examination, he will, I am persuaded, be found fully entitled to.—EDITOR.]

SIR,——No sooner was the Parliament thus made complete in all its branches for the dispatch of business, than there appeared evident signs of a formidable opposition to the claims of the Duke of Gloucester. The leader was the Bishop of Winchester. This prelate was ambitious; a master of political intrigue; though haughty in his nature, yet plausible and popular in his demeanour. When his aspiring views, which looked to the highest rank in the Roman Church, suffered some check from Henry the Fifth, he seems only to have turned his thoughts more attentively to the means of acquiring influence in the state at home. He employed his vast wealth, not in magnificent foundations of piety and charity according to the notions of that age, but in liberal loans for the public service, by which he recommended himself to the King, whose military plans he thus facilitated, and won the favour of the people, the pressure of whose burthens he in some measure suspended. He seems particularly to have aimed at cultivating an interest in Parliament, partly, perhaps, from observing with the eye of a statesman, the growing authority of that body, and partly perhaps, induced (1) by the peculiar circumstances in which his family stood. Though now generally classed with the Princes of the Blood, and next to the Duke of Bedford and Gloucester, yet they were excluded from the eventual succession to the Crown. The offspring of John of Gaunt by Catherine Swinford before marriage, they had only been legitimated by statute, with the express reservation of the royal dignity which they were declared still incapable of inheriting. The authority, however, which made, might repeal the exception, if the occasion presented itself; and both the uncles of the infant King being without issue, the prospect did not appear too distant to be kept in view. They naturally endeavoured, therefore, to preserve a good understanding with Parliament. The Bishop of Winchester, connected, as he was, easily obtained an ascendancy among the spiritual peers, who, from the absence of so many of the great lay-barons abroad, then actually formed (2) two-thirds of the House; and at the head of the few lords who now returned, was the Duke of Exeter, the younger brother of that prelate, a nobleman, who having been educated for the Church in Italy, was eminent for learning, but betaking himself to a military life, had borne an illustrious share in the most brilliant exploits of the war in France, and flourished in the esteem and affection of the (3) Parliament and the nation. On the

(1) This situation of the family of the Beauforts had more influence on the parties of this reign, and especially in the deadly feud between them and the House of York, than our historians have noticed. I shall hereafter have occasion to mark the jealousy, which the Commons felt in this reign of their title to the Crown being set up in the person of Margaret, whose son afterwards did actually ascend the throne by the name of Henry the VIIth.

(2) Compare the list in the summons published by Dugdale, with the known number of the bishops, mitred abbots, and priors.

(3) When Henry the Vth. after the battle of Agincourt created him Duke of Exe-

other hand, they whose honest purpose was only that of improving the present opportunity to establish the supremacy of Parliament, were rejoiced to find leaders of such weight as the Princes of the House of Beaufort, concurring from whatever motives in the same design.

The first step was taken by the lords who had met in the sort of council already mentioned. They lost no time in applying for a (4) confirmation of all the acts done in consequence of their advice. The very application supposed that there was no authority but in Parliament, capable of sanctioning what had passed; and the justification of their conduct was rested solely on the existence of an imminent and overruling necessity. (5) The Bishops of Durham and London followed, who respectively stated their surrender of the great seals entrusted to their keeping, and desired a formal discharge from Parliament.

The Commons now appeared on the stage. They sent a message reminding the Duke of Gloucester that the three great offices under the crown were vacant (6), and praying him, that with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, he would inform them, whom it pleased the King to name for his Chancellor, his Treasurer, and Keeper of the Privy Seal. This gave rise to considerable debate; but in the end the old officers were re-instated, and their appointments ordered by the House to be made out. The Bishop of Winchester and the Duke of Exeter, with two other spiritual and three temporal peers, were chosen to communicate the result to the Commons, who expressed their satisfaction at the intelligence.

Though every one of these transactions in some degree prejudged the claims of Humphrey to the government of the country, yet he was not deterred from (7) bringing them distinctly to issue. He urged his right on two separate grounds: the first that of his deceased brother's will; the second, that of his proximity in blood to the King. Whatever were the impressions of the lords in favour of their own privileges against his pretensions, they entertained the question with a solemnity suitable to its importance. They heard with attention whatever could be advanced in support of the demand. A search for precedents was instituted. The opinions of the judges were taken. The whole was then made the subject of great and long deliberation. But it was finally determined, that the claim had no foundation either in precedent or the law of the land. On the first point it was resolved, that the deceased king had no power during his life, by his last will, or otherwise, to alter, change, or abridge the law, without the assent of the three Estates; and that, consistently with the law, he could not commit or grant the government of the country to any person longer than he himself lived. On the second point, the lords declared, that they found the desire of the Duke of Gloucester not to accord with the law, and to be repugnant to the rights and liberties of Parliament, though they readily acquitted him of any intention to their prejudice.

The great difficulty still remained of settling a proper form of government during the King's minority. And here nothing could be effected without the concurrence of Humphrey, who held all the power of the Crown in Parliament; a power frequently exercised at that period in the gentle mode of dissent which our constitution prescribes. Looking, therefore, to the possibility of the

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ter, and proposed to Parliament to settle on him 1000 l. a year, payable at the Exchequer, and 40 l. a year from the Customs at Exeter, the lords said, no objection could be made, but only that it was not adequate to his merits and services.

(4) Rolls 1 H. VI. No. 12.

(5) Ib. No. 13 and 14. In No 13 as also in No. 12, the meetings at Windsor and Westminster on the 28th and 30th of September are said to have taken place as soon as the King's death was known for certain; *per veridicos nuncios intellecta.* But we find from a petition of John Foster, Clerk (Rolls Vol. IV. p. 194) that the first intelligence reached Biggleswade on the 10th, and of course London on the 9th of September. The regular official accounts, therefore, seem to have been kept back, probably for some political purpose. The critical situation of France was the most likely cause.

(6) Ib. No. 16. The new patents are dated on the 16th of November. The entry does not describe the Duke of Gloucester by any other designation. All the petitions of the Commons are addressed to him as the King's Commissary.

(7) These interesting proceedings unfortunately were not entered on the roll, possiblythrough the management of the Duke of Gloucester. But we have a short recital of them by the lords, in the 6th year of Henry the VIth (Rolls No. 25) from which the above is taken. That recital having been omitted by Cotton in abridging the entry, it has hitherto escaped the notice of our historians, though the only account which we have.

royal negative being put on such a plan as they might propose, or even of an angry interruption of their sitting by a prorogation or dissolution, the Houses passed (8) a bill which lodged an extraordinary trust in the lords of the King's council to determine according to their discretion upon the matter of all the petitions, as well from the Commons as from others, which might remain unanswered at the close of the session: and the King's commissioner, willing to show that if any jealousy was entertained of him in that respect, it was unfounded, gave his ready assent to the measure. He then acquiesced in taking (9) parliamentary confirmations of his two offices of Great Chamberlain of England and constable of the Castle of Gloucester, to hold them from the death of the late king, as he held them before by his grant. With these and the chief place at the council-board the lords seem to have hoped and expected, that he might have been satisfied; but he continued, notwithstanding, to insist, that whatever form of government should be thought most expedient, he should have a distinct and leading situation at the head of it. He finally prevailed; and a (10) new office of pre-eminent dignity was created by the style of "Protector and Defender of the Realm and "Church of England," to which was also annexed the Presidency of the King's Council: and both were together conferred in the strictest manner according to proximity of blood, on the Duke of Bedford, whenever he should be upon the spot, and during his absence, on the Duke of Gloucester. The title was, nevertheless, devised with particular caution and circumspection. The better known appellations of (11) Tutor, Lieutenant, Governor, Regent, and every other name which might be supposed to imply any authority of government in the country, were all on principle rejected; and that of Protector and Defender adopted, because it was thought to import only a personal duty of attendance to the actual defence of the kingdom, as well against enemies from without, as rebels from within. To give efficacy and splendor to his situation, a portion of the Royal Patronage was settled exclusively upon him. In every case of vacancy, he was to have the sole nomination of all the (12) Forresters, Parkers, and Keepers of

(8) Rolls, 1 H. VI. No. 21.

(9) Ib. Nos. 22 and 23.

(10) Ib. No. 24. Hume, not knowing the real nature of the office of *Guardian of the Realm*, which was only conferred during the absence of the King abroad, and which gave a right to attest in his own name the royal will and pleasure, and hold parliaments without any other commission, gives it here as synonimous with "*Protector*," an officer who was substituted only for a King present, but incapable of acting for himself, who attested no royal instrument in his own name, and had no power in parliament without a special commission for that purpose. This confusion in the historian is the more unpardonable, because when young, Henry was absent in France, at the time of his coronation there, in the ninth year of his reign, the Duke of Gloucester was made "*Guardian*," and not "*Protector*," and as "*Guardian*," besides issuing many instruments, actually held one parliament.—The patent of the new office of Protector bears date on the 5th of December, which was, as the entry on the rolls expresses it, the 27th day of the parliament.

(11) Though, I trust, the reader will give me credit for the greatest fidelity in my narrative throughout, yet I think it right to add here the words of the record itself, as they strongly mark the spirit of the whole proceeding. "We devised unto you," (say the Lords, 6 H. VI. No. 25.) "a name "different from other counseillers, nought "the name of *Tutor*, *Lieutenant-Governour*, "*nor of Regent*, nor no name that shuld "emporte auctorite of governaunce of the "lond, but the name of *Protectour and* "*Defensour*, the which emporteth a per-"sonell duetee of entendance to the ac-"tuell defense of the land, as well agenst "yenemies utward, yf cas required, as "agenst rebelles inward, yf any were, that "God forbede!"—The second title which is here expressed to be "*Defensour*," in some other parts of the records is "*Defendour*, and *Defender*." I have preferred the latter, as more modern and familiar to us from one of his Majesty's present titles.

(12) This act is to be found Ib. No. 25. How important the patronage of the Forests, Parks, and Warrens, was to the discharge of the military duties of the Protectorate, may be learned from Sir J. Fortescue, who in his Treatise on the difference between an Absolute and Limited Monarchy, (cap. 17) tells us, "Sum Forester of the "Kyngs, that hath none other lyvelood, may "bring moo men to the feld well arrayed, "and namely for schoting, than may sum "knight, or sum esquier of right grete live-"lood, dwelling by him, and having non "office. What than" (adds he) "may grete "officers do?"——But the latter patronage was in the council.

Warrens belonging to the Crown throughout England and Wales; and the right of presentation to all benefices in the King's gift, above the annual value of twenty marks, including the prebends and canonries of the Royal Chapels. Yet the very officers, whom he had once appointed under this act, were instantly made independent of him; for they could only be removed by the council: and the council was to bestow all the higher offices, even in the department of the forests, and all other offices which were not specifically granted to the Protector, to a (13) very considerable number. In that body also, was particularly vested the promotion to the deanries of the Royal Chapels, and all other ecclesiastical benefices which were not there specified as in the gift of the Protector, or did not by custom belong to the Chancellor, or Lord Treasurer. With these powers, and under these limitations, Humphrey consented to take upon himself the execution of this new office; but he protested, that his acceptance of it should not be of prejudice to the right of his brother.

The Commons now interposed to desire that the council might be forthwith formed. Sixteen peers, therefore, were named as assistants to the Protector. Besides the Duke of Exeter, there were five ecclesiastics, including the Bishop of Winchester, five earls and five barons. The choice was undoubtedly good. They were the persons of principal note in their several ranks. For the better regulation of their proceedings (14) five articles were settled and sent down to the Commons, by whom they were returned with a slight amendment. By virtue of these provisions the members of the council were again declared to have the appointment of justices of the peace, sheriffs, and escheators, customers, controllers, weighers and searchers, and all other such officers, except those who were to be appointed by the Protector, the Bishop of Winchester, or others under special acts of Parliament or former grants of the Crown: all wardships, marriages, and farms were to be at their disposal to make the most for the advantage of the public, without favour, partiality, or collusion: none of their acts were to be valid, unless six, or at least four, besides the officers of the council, were present; on all important questions the whole council, or at least, a majority of the whole, was required to attend; and wherever the matter was such that, according to the established usage, the King ought to be consulted, no proceeding was to be had without the advice of the Protector: the Lord Treasurer and the Chamberlains of the Exchequer were to have each a key to the King's receipt: but they were to be under oath not to make any person but the members of the council privy to the knowledge of the sum there deposited: finally, the clerks of the council were to be sworn daily to take down the names of the members who were present, and faithfully to enter all their acts and orders, that it might be seen, "what, how, and by whom "any thing passed." Though the Privy Councillors in the former reigns had received salaries according to their respective ranks, and the Bishop of Winchester himself had been so paid, yet the wary prelate and his colleagues made a shew of disinterestedness, which could not but be highly popular, by professing to devote themselves to the public without any reward for their trouble. But

(13) We have in general but a very imperfect notion of the extent of the influence of the Crown in those days. "For soth," (says Sir J. Fortescue, in the same chapter) "it is not lightly estemable, what might the "King may have of his officers, yf every "of them had but one office, and served "non other man but the Kyng. Now it is "easye to be esteemed how many men may "be rewarded with office, and how gretely, "yf they be dyscretely gevyn. *The Kyng "gevyth moo than a thousand offices, besyds "thoos that my Lord Prince gevith.*"——In England and Wales together, the Council must have had the disposal of nearly a thousand, and all the most valuable in the number.

(14) Ib. No. 27 to No. 33 inclusive. It is remarkable that the articles were sent down to the Commons *in English*, but the amendment sent up from the Commons was *in Norman French*, the formal language of legislation. Most of the other regulations made in or respecting the Council were in Engl s'. Perhaps that language was preferred with a view to popularity. There are two striking exceptions: one is an order of the Council to confer different salaries on their own members according to their respective ranks (2 H. VI. Rolls, Vol. V. cap. 404) and this entry is partly in Latin, and partly in Norman French; the other is an instrument first giving power to the Earl of Warwick, the King's Governor (6 H. VI. Ib. p. 411) to inflict corporal chastisement on his pupil at his own discretion, and this is in Norman French. Neither of these subjects were likely to be very popular. It was probably thought that on these occasions it might be as well to use languages not generally understood.

that it was only a shew, they subsequently discovered, when their immediate object was answered; since,(15) almost two years after, they not only voted to themselves the old salaries of Privy Councillors, but computed them retrospectively, from the day when they were originally chosen in this parliament. On the other hand, the Protector could not wait to play so fine a game. Without a salary, he was totally unable to maintain the necessary state and consequence of his office; and, as there was no precedent, he could only measure the magnitude of the allowance by his own notions of the eminence of his situation. He therefore early granted to himself, with the consent of the Board, an(16) annuity of 8000 marks; a sum equivalent to double the present appointments of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. And this, with a tacit reference to his own claim of right, he asked and obtained from the date of his royal brother's death. It was regarded with dissatisfaction by the nation as excessive, and,(17) from time to time, suffered various reductions.

(15) The entry is in the Rolls, Vol. V Appendix, p. 404. It is dated on the 10th of July, in the second year of Henry the Sixth, or A. D. 1424. The King's reign began on the 31st of August, and the salaries were to be reckoned from the 9th of December, in the first year of Henry VI, or, A. D. 1422. The highest salary was 300 marks, the lowest 40 pounds a year. From Rymer, Vol. X. p. 360, it appears, that the act did not finally pass the Council till the 1st September, 1424.

(16) The parliamentary historians say, that it was settled so in Parliament. But there is no trace of it. The writ of Privy Seal granting it is in Rymer, Vol. X. p. 268. It purports to be done by advice of the King's Council. The date is the 27th of February. 1 H. VI. or, A. D. 1422-3. An endorsement upon it states the "*present copy*" to have been read on the 2d of March, in Council, and Letters Patent to have been ordered accordingly. In the Latin of that age, "*copia*" usually meant a *fair draft*, or a *duplicate*, and not what we commonly call a "*copy*." It is hardly applicable in any sense to the actual, single, perfect instrument under seal. It was probably a draft submitted in that shape for consideration, by the Duke of Gloucester. There is no where any reference to any former entry, under which it was prepared. The Keeper of the Privy Seal was present, and signed the endorsed order. He might then also seal the writ.

(17) The Duke of Bedford (11 and 12 H. VI) says, "it was otherwhile the somme "of 8000 marcs, otherwhile 6000 marcs, "otherwhile 5000 marcs, and otherwhile "4000 marcs yerly." He himself consented to take only 2000 marks, as Chief of the Council, the Protectorate having then ceased. See Rolls, Vol. IV. p 424.

Our historians in general say, that the charge of the young king's person, and the care of his education, were committed by this Parliament to the Bishop of Winchester and Duke of Exeter; and Hume has assigned as a reason, that they were peculiarly qualified for this trust, because they were themselves for ever excluded from the throne. But there is no trace of the fact, much less of the reason, in any authentic record. The dying father, indeed, when he wished to divide the government of his dominions between his two brothers, is represented as having destined his two uncles to be the tutors and preceptors to his son, as soon as he should be of age to benefit by their instructions; and certainly the Royal Family could not have supplied two other persons so well qualified by their learning for the trust. They were, however, too prudent to betray such an ambition, as would have been manifested by a premature desire to anticipate the name of an office, which could then have no real existence, and to lend, in their own case, an appearance of that confirmation to the will of the deceased King, which they opposed in the instance of the Duke of Gloucester. It seems to me evident from the(18) articles which three

(18) The 2d and 3d articles are those to which I allude, and especially the second. It is in substance—That the Lord Bishop of Winchester, *without the advice and consent of the Lord Duke of Gloucester*, or of his Majesty's Privy Council, contrived and purposed to lay hands on his Majesty's person, and to have removed him from Eltham, the place where he then was, to Windsor, there *to put him under the government of such persons as he pleased.* To this the Bishop answered,—*That he never could propound to himself any advantage* by removing the King, *or taking him into his custody or charge, nor did he ever intend to meddle with any thing about the King's person, without the advice of the Privy Council.* The answer to the 3d article also, would probably have mentioned it, if the Bishop had the charge of the King's person; and if his brother, the Duke of Exeter, had been joined with him, he must have been named on the one side or the other, in these proceedings. There would also have probably been some documents shewing the salary allowed for this;

years after Humphrey exhibited against the Bishop of Winchester, and the defence made to that accusation, that neither the one nor the other considered the infant Monarch as under the management of that prelate: there are some intermediate circumstances, which obviously lead to the same conclusion; and as soon as Henry was of years to require a preceptor, we find Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, invested with that character.

In my original (19) distribution of the subject, I signified my intention of postponing all observation on the general principle of the constitution, as it was in this respect understood by our ancestors, till I shall have finished my historical narrative. At the same time, some few particular passages, which occur in this first institution and settlement of the office of Protector, seem to call for remark in this place. The claim of the Duke of Gloucester, was certainly such as could not be maintained. If instead of being the second only in the order of the succession, he had been the first; if he had even been, as to some purposes a Prince of Wales unquestionably is, identified in contemplation of law with the political person of the Sovereign himself; whatever pretensions he might have had to direct the necessary acts for carrying on the government of the country in the interval, till some adequate provision for the emergency could be made by law; yet he could not have had any thing to object, as of strict right, against the discretion of a complete and perfect legislature, which is competent to change and transfer the succession itself. The very title, by which his family reigned, was a conclusive answer to the claim. On the other hand so irresistible was it, on the grounds of equity and propriety, that they who opposed it, as it was advanced by him, could not help doing what has been actually mistaken for a studied acknowledgment of that which they deliberately rejected: ignorant of the motives assigned and looking only to the transaction itself, some of our historians have considered what was done, as a mere (20) "expedient to perform the will of the "deceased King, who had appointed Humphrey, Regent, without derogating from "*the rights* of the elder brother." The delivery of the Great Seal to Gaunstede; the payment of the regular salary to him as Lord Keeper, while it was in his possession; his application of it to (21) various public instruments, and especially to Humphrey's commission for holding the Parliament, and none of these things either confirmed or questioned that we know in Parliament; the Duke's own officers confirmed from the death of Henry the Fifth; the grant of his salary as Protector from the same period unquestioned; and the Protectorate itself created at his instance, as it was said, (22) "to ease and appease him:" all strongly indicate a general sentiment in his favour. Though the name was selected with so much care to mark the distinction of his power from that of a governor, lieutenant, or regent; yet when the lords afterwards came to describe, in their own restricted sense, the duties which it imposed, they use words very similar to those in which Sir John Fortescue, an author then living and flourishing at the bar, comprehends the whole circle of royal duties "All the "kingly power," (23) (says he) "ought to be "applied for, and to centre in the good of "the kingdom or state: which, in effect, "consists in the *defence* of the subject "from the incursions of other nations, and "in the *protection* of their lives and properties from injuries and violence as to one "another. A King," (it is added) "who "cannot come up to this character, is to be "looked upon as *weak*." And, in truth, it was a *weak* King, or rather, according to a phrase of the same writer, a King "not "only to be called *weak*, but *weakness* it-"self," whom under the name of Protector and Defender, the Parliament now sub-

but there is none. And this is the stranger, because when the salaries of the Council were settled, the Bishop of Winchester is recited to be Chancellor also, as a sort of reason for his being made equal to the Archbishop of Canterbury, instead of the Bishop of London; and when the Duke of Exeter, some years later, still had his salary allowed from the beginning, his rank is stated as a reason for his having 300 marks. Neither of them is ever mentioned as Governor to the King.

(19) See Pol. Reg. Vol. VI. p. 466.

(20) Rapin, fol. edit. p. 536, quoted and adopted by the Parliamentary Historians in a note Vol. II. p. 172.

(21) Several extant in Rymer were passed during that period, though none but the commission to the Duke are of any great public importance.

(22) See the recital so often quoted from the Rolls, 6 H. VI. No. 25.

(23) De laudibus legum Angliæ, c. 37. Translation in the last edition. Compare these words with the passage quoted above in a note from the recital in the Rolls, 6 H, VI, No. 25.

stituted in the room of an incapable King. The act which conveyed to him a very inferior, though in a military point of view, an important share of the patronage of the Crown, was the only one which put into his hands any means for fulfilling the great ends of his appointment both in Church and State; and that did not give him any authority to draw out and set in motion the force which he might be supposed thus to have at his command, or furnish him with any direct influence over the heads of the Church: in truth, it only professed on the face of it (24) to distinguish him by favours and honours, trifling indeed, in comparison of those with which the Council was adorned and armed. His only principal and almost share of civil power was in his character of chief of that council; a station which was independent of the Protectorate, and continued with the same power, after the latter had ceased. But this also was left uncertain and indistinct. He was there acknowledged as the sole representative of the Sovereign, since (25) all such business as by custom required an immediate and necessary reference to the King, could not be entertained there without his advice and consent; yet nothing was directly said of that discretion, which the King, if he pleased, might on occasion exercise with regard to every other business there agitated. It certainly was not intended that Humphrey should possess it; but he long struggled in different ways, though ultimately in vain, to acquire it. Four days after he had been created Protector, the members of the Council were chosen expressly under the name of "*assistants*" to him in the execution of his office; but, instead of "*assisting*," they were in reality designed to supersede him. Their interests were placed in diametrical opposition to his, their means of influence were infinitely greater than his, and the decision was to be in the majority. It was, in fact, an oligarchy in a state essentially monarchical, and for that reason disguised under the pretence of a semblance and representation of Monarchy. At the same time embarrassed between the nature of our constitution and the consequent habitual feelings of the people on the one side, and on the other, their own notions of public expediency, and their jealousy of their own rights, the Parliament left the regulations, by which the distribution of power between the Protector and his council was to be ascertained, short, vague, general, defective, and confused. Hence arose the necessity of repeated additions, amendments, explanations, and modifications; which will form the subject of my next letter; perpetual contentions in the Council-chamber, and in the Senate; animosities, parties and factions; and, finally, the most obstinate and destructive civil war, which ever desolated this country; for the torrents of blood which then deluged the kingdom, were in truth, derived ultimately from this source; though superficial historians have traced the subsequent calamities no higher than to the murder of the Duke of Gloucester, and attributed the origin and character of the civil war to the irresolute and fluctuating ambition of the Duke of York.—I am, Sir, &c.

Middle Temple, Jan. 12, 1805. T. M.

(24) This is the motive, and the only motive stated in the preamble.

(25) Article II. of the regulations.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

LOUIS XVIII.—*Purport of a Letter from the Emperor of Russia to Louis the XVIIIth., under his title of Count de Lille.*

MONSEIGNEUR LE COMTE,—By your letter, dated the 13th June, from Warsaw, I have learnt, with regret, the resolution which you have adopted. Had I been previously apprised of it, as I much wish I had, my friendship for you, and my usual sincerity of disposition, would have impelled me, Monseigneur le Comte, to dissuade you from measures which, at the present crisis, far from being productive of any real advantage to you, can have no other tendency than to put new weapons in the hands of your enemies, to be employed against you, and enable them to render the accomplishment of your plans still more difficult than it already is. Without pretending, in other respects, to interfere in matters which do not immediately interest me, I must nevertheless observe, that I cannot, Monseigneur le Comte, give my approbation to the proposal which you have communicated to me, and I ought not to conceal from you, that the offer which I made to you, and hereby repeat, of affording you an asylum in my dominions, if you could not reside elsewhere, was made with no other intention than that of furnishing you with a secure and tranquil abode, in which such projects as you appear to have resolved upon cannot be carried into execution. I have felt myself bound, Monseigneur le Comte, to express myself upon this topic without any reserve, being assured that neither the impossibility of executing your resolution in Russia, nor the point of view in which I consider the subject, can induce you to call in question my earnest

desire to embrace every opportunity of giving you repeated demonstrations of the particular esteem with which I am, &c.

LETTERS OF MARQUE AGAINST SPAIN.

——*Order of Council, dated at the Court at the Queen's Police, the 11th of January, 1805, the King being present in Council.*

Whereas his Majesty has received information that the King of Spain has issued a declaration of war against his Majesty, his subjects, and people; his Majesty, therefore, being determined to take such measures as are necessary for vindicating the honour of his Crown, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war in which he finds himself engaged, is pleased, by and with the advice of his Privy Council, to order, and it is hereby ordered, that general reprisals be granted against the ships, goods, and subjects of the King of Spain, so that as well his Majesty's fleets and ships, as also all other ships and vessels that shall be commissionated, by Letters of Marque, or General Reprisals, or otherwise, by his Majesty's Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, shall and may lawfully seize all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the King of Spain, or his subjects, or others inhabiting within the territories of the King of Spain, and bring the same to judgment in any of the Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions; and, to that end, his Majesty's Advocate General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, or any person or persons by them empowered and appointed, to issue forth and grant Letters of Marque and Reprisals to any of his Majesty's subjects, or others whom the said commissioners shall deem fitly qualified in that behalf, for the apprehending, seizing, and taking the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to Spain, and the vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, or any inhabiting within his countries, territories, or dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and his Majesty's said Advocate-General, with the Advocate of the Admiralty, are also forthwith to prepare the draft of a commission, and present the same to his Majesty at this Board, authorising the said commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, to will and require the High Court of Admiralty of Great Britain, and the Lieutenant and Judge of the said Court, his surrogate or surrogates, as also the several Courts of Admiralty within his Majesty's dominions, to take cognizance of, and judicially proceed upon, all and all manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships and goods that are or shall be taken, and to hear and determine the same; and, according to the course of Admiralty, and the Laws of Nations, to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to Spain, or the vassals and subjects of the King of Spain, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, and dominions; and that such powers and clauses be inserted in the said commission as have been usual, and are according to former precedents; and they are likewise to prepare and lay before his Majesty, at this Board, a draft of such instructions as may be proper to be sent to the Courts of Admiralty in his Majesty's foreign governments and plantations for their guidance herein; as also another draft of instructions for such ships as shall be commissionated for the purposes afore mentioned.

ELDON, C. CASTLEREAGH. W. GRANT.
MONTROSE. MULGRAVE. C. MORGAN
CAMDEN. HAWKESBURY. E. NEPEAN.
MELVILLE. ELLENBOROUGH.
SIDMOUTH. W. PITT.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPER.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.—*Message delivered by the President of the United States of America to both Houses of Congress, Nov. 8, 1804.*

[*Concluded from p.* 1055.]

The Act of Congress of Feb. 28, 1803, for building and employing a number of gunboats is now in a course of execution to the extent there provided, for the obstacle to naval enterprise, which vessels of this construction offer to our sea-port towns, their utility towards supporting, within our waters, the authority of the law, the promptness with which they will be manned by the seamen and militia of the place, in the moment they are wanting, the facility of their assembling, from different parts of the coast, to any point where they are required in greater force than ordinary, the economy of their maintenance, and preservation from decay, when not in actual service, and of the competence of our finances to this defensive provision, without any new burthen, are considerations which will have due weight with Congress in deciding on the expediency of adding to their number from year to year, as experience will test their

utility, until all our important harbours, by these and auxiliary means, shall be secured against insult and opposition to the laws. ——No circumstance has arisen since your last session, which calls for any augmentation of our militia force. Should any improvement occur in the militia system, that will be always seasonable.——Accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the last year, with estimates for the ensuing one, will be, as usual, laid before you. The state of our finances continue to fulfil our expectations: 11½ millions of dollars received in the course of last year, ending the 30th of Sept. last, have enabled us, after meeting all the ordinary expenses of the year, to pay upwards of 3,600,000 dollars of the debt incurred, exclusive of interest. This payment, with those of the two preceding years, has extinguished upwards of 12 millions of principal.——But in the discharge of the great duties confided to you by our country, you will take a broader view of the field of legislation. Whether the great interests of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, navigation, can, within the pale of your constitutional powers, be aided in any of their relations; whether laws are provided in all cases where they are wanting; whether any abuses take place in their administration, or to that of the public revenues? Whether the organization of the public agents, or of the public force, is perfect in all its parts? In fine, whether any thing can be done to advance the general good? Are questions within the limits of your functions, which will necessarily occupy your attention. In these and all other matters which you, in your wisdom, may propose for the good of our country, you may count with assurance on my hearty co-operation and faithful execution.——THOMAS JEFFERSON.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

KING'S SPEECH.——*On Tuesday, the 15th of January, 1805, the two Houses of Parliament having met, his Majesty delivered to them the following most gracious Speech from the Throne.*

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,——Since the end of the last session, the preparations of the enemy for the invasion of this kingdom have been continued with incessant activity, but no attempt has been made to carry their repeated menaces into effect.——The skill and intrepidity of my navy, the respectable and formidable state of my army, and militia, the unabated zeal and improved discipline of a numerous volunteer force, and the general ardour manifested by all classes of my subjects, have indeed been sufficient to deter them from so presumptuous, and desperate an enterprise. ——While this spirit continues to animate the country, and its voluntary exertions for its own defence subsist in their full vigour, we need not fear the consequences of the most powerful efforts on the part of the enemy. But let us never forget, that our security has arisen from the resolution, with which we have met and provided against the danger, and that it can be preserved only by steady perseverance, and unremitting activity.——The conduct of the Court of Spain, evidently under the predominant influence and control of France, compelled me to take prompt, and decisive measures to guard against the effects of hostility. I have, at the same time, endeavoured, as long as it was possible, to prevent the necessity of a rupture; but, in consequence of the refusal of a satisfactory explanation, my minister quitted Madrid, and war has since been declared by Spain against this country.——I have directed a copy of the Manifesto, which I have caused to be prepared on the occasion, to be laid before you, together with such papers as are necessary to explain the discussions which have taken place between me, and the Court of Madrid. You will, I trust, be convinced by them, that my forbearance has been carried to the utmost extent which the interests of my dominions would admit, and while I lament the situation of Spain, involved in hostilities contrary to its true interests, I rely with confidence on your vigorous support in a contest, which can be attributed only to the unfortunate prevalence of French councils.——The general conduct of the French government on the Continent of Europe, has been marked by the utmost violence and outrage, and has shewn a wanton defiance of the rights of neutral territories, of the acknowledged privileges of accredited ministers, and of the established principles of the law of nations. ——Notwithstanding these transactions, so repugnant to every sentiment of moderation and justice, I have recently received a communication from the French government, containing professions of a pacific disposition.——I have, in consequence, expressed my earnest desire to embrace the first opportunity of restoring the blessings of peace, on such grounds as may be consistent with the permanent safety, and interests of my dominions; but I am confident you will agree with me, that those objects are closely connected with the general security of Europe. I have, therefore, not thought it right to enter into any more par-

ticular explanation, without previous communication with those powers on the Continent, with whom I am engaged in confidential intercourse and connexion, with a view to that important object, and especially with the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wise, and dignified sentiments by which he is animated, and of the warm interests he takes in the safety, and independence of Europe.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, —— I have directed the estimates for the public service to be laid before you. I regret the necessity of any additional burthens being imposed on my people, but I am sure you will be sensible how much their future safety and happiness depend on the vigour of our exertions, and that in the mode of raising supplies, you will continue to shew your anxiety for the support of public credit, and for restraining, as much as possible, the accumulation of the national debt.

MY LORDS, AND GENTLEMEN,——In considering the great efforts and sacrifices which the nature of the contest requires, it is a peculiar satisfaction to me to observe the many proofs of the internal wealth, and prosperity of the country. It will, I am sure, be your great object to maintain and improve these advantages, and at the same time to take all such measures as by enabling me to prosecute the war with vigour, may afford the best prospect of bringing it to a safe, and honourable termination.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

His Majesty's speech from the throne, to both Houses of Parliament, which will be found in a preceding page of this sheet, touches upon the several topics, which will, of course, come under the consideration of those to whom it was addressed, and which topics, therefore, will naturally engage the attention of the public. They are as follows: 1. The menaced invasion; 2. The state of our military force; 3. The war with Spain; 4. The message from France; 5. Continental alliances; 6. Additional burdens; and, 7. The internal state of the country. To treat at large upon each of these would require the space of a volume; of course, nothing more than a mere sketch can be attempted here; yet it would seem improper to pass over any one in silence. It is hardly necessary to repeat, that, in commenting upon the speech, the commentator must regard it not only as expressing the sentiments, but as expressing them in the very words, of the ministers; the speech being always drawn up by them, and being recommended by them to His Majesty, in exactly the same way that every other measure is, they being responsible for the advice they give upon this, as upon all other matters of state.

THE MENACED INVASION. —— Upon this subject the speech informs the Parliament, that "since the end of the last session, the "preparations of the enemy have been con- "tinued with incessant activity, but that no "attempt has been made to carry their re- "peated menaces into effect." That this is perfectly true no one can be disposed to deny; but, the object of stating this truism, in so solemn a manner, is not very evident, especially to those who recollect the almost constant alarms, which were rung in our ears by the ministers and their partisans during the months of August and September, when the country was told, over and over again, that the attempt at invasion would take place in a few days; when it was repeatedly asserted, in all the ministerial journals, that ministers had received *certain* intelligence to that effect; when Sir Brook was assembling his committees of coach-makers, coach-masters, and horse jockies; when we were daily informed that Mr. Pitt was himself inspecting the flying cars; and when not to appear upon the subscription list of coaches and horses was, in those who were possessed of such property, regarded as a proof of something amounting very nearly to disloyalty. No attempt has, however, been made. But, does the speech mean, that, from this circumstance, we ought to infer, that no attempt of the kind *will be* made? Those who were, last summer, in daily expectation of seeing such an attempt, may so reason; but, those who entertained no such expectation, have only to repeat their opinions, expressed in this work, at the very moment of the great alarm, occasioned by Buonaparté's having been on board the flotilla. "This circumstance does not tend "to convince me, that he means to invade "England in person, or, that he means to "send, at least for some time, an army to "attempt such an enterprise. It would ra- "ther tend to persuade me, that, at present, "the object is to excite alarm, to keep us in "constant agitation, and to increase our ex- "penses."* And did not this object succeed? Perfectly succeed? Were we not alarmed and agitated? And, if our expenses were not increased, how comes it now to pass, that we hear of "burdens" in "addition" to those which Mr. Addington, the present *real* prime minister, assured us would be

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* Register, Vol. VI. p. 432.

more than sufficient to carry on the war for any length of time? Why, then, were we thus solemnly reminded, that no attempt had been made to invade our country, except for the purpose of leading us to conclude, that the danger was now over? A conclusion, which, it is to be presumed, very few men will be weak enough to adopt. It has been stated, over and over again, in this work, that the evident policy of Buonaparté was, *not* to invade this country for, at least, a year or two; and, because he has not *yet* attempted it, are we to conclude, that he has totally abandoned the project? Yes, we are desired so to conclude, because it would suit the ministers to have it believed, that their measures have *alarmed him*, and have placed the country in a state of perfect security; and this belief they must be particularly anxious to inculcate, from a consciousness that their measures for providing for our defence have proved miserably inefficient. They know they shall be charged with their want of wisdom and energy in this respect, and therefore it is, that they begin by throwing out hints, that no "additional force" is necessary.

THE STATE OF OUR MILITARY FORCE. ——This was the subject upon which Parliament was, at the close of their last meeting, the most seriously engaged. It had been agreed, on all hands, that a great addition to our regular military force was absolutely necessary. A measure for that purpose was proposed by Mr. Addington and his colleagues. This measure Mr. Pitt opposed, in order to make way for a more efficient measure of his own. At the same time he represented the ministry as exhibiting every mark of "*incapacity* and *imbecility*." They were turned out. He immediately came in; not with a new set of men, but with a majority of those very persons, whom he had so stigmatized. His "efficient" measure has completely failed. It has, all over the kingdom, produced trouble, vexation, confusion, expense, every thing but what it was intended to produce, and has, in short, far surpassed in inefficiency, the very utmost that was predicted by its opponents. But, we are told, that, notwithstanding, the project has failed, with regard to the men to be raised by the parish officers, it has, in its more important object, fully succeeded. "The number of men," says the SUN newspaper of the 15th instant, "as *yet* raised by "the parish officers, has certainly fallen "very short; but, were *they* the great object of the bill? Was it not a much more "important object to facilitate the ordinary "recruiting with moderate bounties and "without competition? And, has not this "been done even already? Has not the recruiting service thriven throughout the "country? Has it been equally flourishing "for several years? Facts will answer these "questions in the affirmative; and we wish "for nothing more to establish the superiority of Mr. Pitt's measure *over those which "preceded it.*" So! the raising of fifty or sixty new battalions; the loving couples of battalions; all the system of sweet intercourse, upon which Mr. Pitt dwelt in strains so melodious and moving that some of his tender-hearted "young friends" could hardly refrain from blubbering aloud; all this is now nothing in comparison with the effect which the measure has had in doing away the competition against the regular army, which was proposed to be done by Mr. Addington's measure, and which had been a hundred times recommended by Mr. Windham! And yet these impudent hirelings dare tell their readers, that Mr. Pitt's measure has proved to be "superior to those "which preceded it!" THE TIMES, however, a newspaper which, as has been before observed, is devoted to the junior main branch of The Family, takes care, on the 16th instant, to state, that Lord Hawkesbury did not fail to observe, during his speech of the 15th, that the success of the recruiting service, during the last six months, was to be ascribed to the measure of the army of reserve, that is, *a measure of Mr. Addington*; but, his lordship should have added, that, had it not been for Mr. Windham, Colonel Craufurd, Mr. Elliot, and Dr. Lawrence, no provision would have been made in the army of reserve act, to enable men to leave that service and to enlist into the regular army. How many men have thus enlisted, during the last half year, we are not yet officially informed; but, certainly, no one will be found with assurance enough to say, that they have been induced to enlist by the operation of Mr. Pitt's additional force bill? Indeed, there is but too much reason to fear, that, when the facts come to be known, it will appear, that the ordinary recruiting service has, during the last six months, produced but very few men; and, that, including those from the army of reserve, (chiefly in Ireland), the increase has not been more than equal to the waste of the army during the same period. The men inlisted from the army of reserve must not be regarded as men *raised*; men *added* to our military force; they have merely changed regiments; and, therefore, it may be safely asserted, that the men raised, since Mr. Pitt came again into the Treasury,

are not equal in number to *one-fifth*, and, perhaps, not to *one-tenth*, of the regular soldiers who have died, or deserted, or who have been discharged during that period. Such being the fact, one is forced to admire the hardihood of those, who would have us believe that the "respectable and formidable state of our army," has contributed to "deter the enemy from so presumptuous "and desperate an enterprise," as that of invading this country. "The respectable "and formidable state of the militia" can admit of no doubt, in the minds of those who consider the effect which must have been produced in the militia regiments by Mr. Pitt's bill, which condemned them to gradual decay. "The *unabated* zeal and "improved discipline of a numerous volunteer force" are proved, perhaps, by a diminution of members and a discontinuance of military exercise. There are not, probably, above 60,000 men, out of the boasted 480,000, who now keep up even the appearance of belonging to a military body; and, as to the improved discipline of any of the volunteers, we have heard of no instance of it, except in the conduct of the brave Cornish volunteers, who made use of their muskets for the purpose of attacking an officer of a man of war and his party, who were in quest of deserted sailors.*—— At at time when the military force of the country is in such a fearful state of decrepitude and decay; especially, when we are entering upon a war with Spain in addition to our former contest, and are told of expected alliances and co-operations upon the Continent; at such a time it surely becomes the Parliament to enter into a full investigation of all matters relating to the military force of the country; and, it will be strange indeed if any one, who professes to be a partisan of Mr. Pitt, should disapprove of the motion, of which Mr. Windham has given notice, for the House of Commons to go into a committee upon the state of our national defence. A similar motion was made by Mr. Fox, on the 23d of April last,† and its adoption was strongly urged by Mr. Pitt, who insisted, and, indeed, clearly shewed, that such a step was perfectly congenial with the principles of the constitution and with the practice of Parliament. But, the ground upon which he maintained the *expediency* of going into a committee of the whole House to revise the several bills for the defence of the country, and to consider of such further measures as might be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent: the ground upon which he maintained the expediency and even the *necessity* of taking this step, was, the utter "*incapacity* and "*imbecility*" of the then ministers, as fully exhibited in their measures relating to the army. "All those," said he, "who are convinced, by experience, that, after twelve "months have been given to these gentlemen" (the ministers) "to exhaust all the "resources of their minds, to amend, and "what they may have thought, to improve "from the suggestion of others; all those "who are convinced upon mature reflection, "that, from the present ministers, or under "them, nothing is likely to originate to "give the country a fair chance of having "what is due to its own zeal and its own "exertions (and, I confess I am one of "those), will support this motion."*—— "There have been twelve months of war, "preceded by a peace, which, by the confession of ministers themselves, was a mere "notice of that war, and a war, in which "they themselves have been exhausted in "their skill; and yet, in the course of the "last twelve months, they have brought forward nothing, in which there has not "been a variety of contradictions in the "plans, repugnancies in the measures, and "*imbecility* in the execution. Nothing, in "which every step has not been marked by "unnecessary delay; and, at last, the measures adopted amounting almost to a retraction of the principle upon which it "was founded. I should say, it is extraordinary, indeed, if, after having such and "so many melancholy proofs that ministers "themselves, after repeated trials, have "proved what is to be expected from them "by what they have produced, if this House "did not inquire into this important subject, "in hope of being able to devise some better "means for the defence of the country than "any which they have brought forward for "that purpose; a course in which, if they "are permitted to go on, there can be no "hope of safety to this country. Such has "been the mode in which they have managed the important charge of defending "the country, that I feel myself called upon "explicitly to declare, that I do consider "the measure for the increase of the regular "army as a measure for which ministers are "unable to provide."† "What measures "have they ever adopted that have not been "thwarted by some other of their measures?

* See the advertisement of the Lords of the Admiralty, Vol. VI. p. 950.—† See the Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p. 199.

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p. 206.
† Ibid, Vol. II. p. 207.

" What efficient plan has been proposed for " recruiting the regular army? Is it upon " the *wisdom*, the vigilance and the energy " of *these* ministers that we can rely, when " we have seen that no one measure for the " public defence can they be truly said to " have originated, when several they have " retarded and enfeebled."*—" The spirit " and exertion that we have witnessed, be- " long to the country, and are not to be " ascribed to the direction or the energy of " the government. Indeed, if there be any " who ought peculiarly to *separate* that pride " from any feeling of *personal merit*, it is the " *present ministers*, who have had so little " share in the national energy. No one " measure can they claim as their own; no " one measure have they improved or per- " fected; very many they have weakened " by their delays, and destroyed by their in- " congruities. Whatever, then, the spirit " and zeal of a free and brave people may " have been, under the sense of danger, " ought fairly to be separated from the tar- " diness, languor, and *imbecility* of mini- " sters."†——" They who, by a manifesto " since published to the world, explained " that there were grounds, almost from im- " mediately after the conclusion of the " peace, to complain of the conduct and to " suspect the intentions of Buonaparté, had " yet omitted to devise measures to counter- " act his designs, and to put the country in " a state fitted for the description of hostili- " ty to be apprehended. In this state the " country is not, in fact, *even now placed*; " and this forms one of my reasons for con- " curring in the motion before the House, " because, as they who thought the peace " not likely to continue," [observe, he knew all about this full as well as they did], " did " not prepare for war, and who, since the " war has commenced, have not pursued " that course of vigorous exertion which the " situation of the empire called for, are not " those in whom I could confide for the " establishment of our security."‡——" Can " any man say, that there is to be found, in " any part of the structure of the volunteer " system, as far as ministers are concerned, " that which can deserve the character of " *discretion*, or the approval of *a statesman?* " There was, in fact, no part of the conduct " pursued by ministers, with regard to the " volunteers, which did not form some " ground for complaint, which did not offer " some evidence of *wavering* and inconsist- " ency."*——" Ministers have been equal- " ly injudicious in every other project of " defence. The fact is, that ministers, so " far from having spontaneously taken any " vigorous measures for the defence of the " country, I state boldly, that no part of the " measures for the increase of the military " establishment of the country has originated " with them. Any benefit that may have " resulted from the army of reserve act, is " not, I assert, attributable to ministers, who " were quite at a loss what course to take, " and who knew not, in fact, what measures " were applicable to the dangers of the " country."†——" Is not this enough to " expose the mind of ministers; to shew " their disacquaintance with the means of " executing even their own purposes? In- " deed, I am perfectly convinced of their " want of vigour; every circumstance serves " to shew it, and I have, therefore, the " strongest conviction upon my mind, that " they are *incapable* of acting upon any thing " like system, of adopting or executing any " well-digested or energetic plan for the " defence of the country. I do not, of " course, place any hope in their exertions, " and, therefore, concur in the propriety of " the proposed committee, where every " question connected with our security may " be fully investigated."‡——The whole speech should be read; as also the speeches of the same gentleman in the same volume, pp. 265, 311, and 593; and his speeches in Vol. I. pp. 874, and 922, particularly the passage pp. 923 and 924, where he repro- bates the conduct of, and declares his total want of confidence in, the ministry, in terms more strong, if possible, than those made use of in the passages above quoted.——That this character and description of the then ministry was *true* the friends of the noble Lord Viscount Sidmouth may possibly deny; but, the truth has been acknowledged by the public voice, and has been stamped by the decision of Parliament; at any rate, it is scarcely possible to believe, that it will be denied by the partisans of Mr. Pitt. It is not safe to speak quite positively upon this head, seeing that there have occurred se- veral instances, in which these gentlemen have treated our belief in the statements of their hero as proofs of our ignorance or per- verseness. Still, however, " under existing " circumstances," it is hardly credible that they will openly insist, that we ought to re- gard Mr. Pitt's solemn assertions as *fal-*.

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. II. p. 209.
† Ibid. p. 210. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 211.

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol II. p. 215.
† Ibid p. 219. ‡ Ibid. p. 218.

Proceeding upon this presumption, then, our first business is to inquire, *who* were the "*incapable* and *imbecile*" ministers, of whom Mr Pitt was speaking, and, on account of his total distrust in whom, he found himself called upon, "from a deep sense of duty to "his Sovereign and his Country," to support a motion for the House of Commons to go into a committee to revise the measures necessary for our national defence; because, if we find them to be the *very same persons*, who compose the present cabinet, it must appear difficult to discover the ground, upon which such a motion can now be opposed by Mr. Pitt and his partisans. The best way will be to take a list of the names of each cabinet, distinguishing them by the epithets applied to each by Mr. Pitt himself.

"*Incapable and imbecile* "*Ministry.*"	"*Capable and efficient* "*Ministry.*"
Mr. Henry Addington	Mr. Henry Addington (now Lord Vic. Sidmouth.)
Lord Eldon,	Lord Eldon,
Lord Hawkesbury,	Lord Hawkesbury,
Lord Hobart,	Lord Hobart (now Earl of Buckinghamshire),
Earl of Chatham,	Earl of Chatham,
Earl of Westmoreland,	Earl of Westmoreland,
Lord Castlereagh,	Lord Castlereagh,
Duke of Portland,	*Mr. Pitt,*
Lord St. Vincent,	*Lord Melville,*
Mr. Yorke,	*Lord Camden,*
	Lord Mulgrave.

Thus, then, it appears, that as to the *number* of "NOSES," the present cabinet possesses a superiority of one tenth over the last; but, as the change from "*incapability* "and *imbecility*" to "*capability* and *effi*-"*ciency*" can scarcely be ascribed solely to this circumstance, we must seek elsewhere for so powerful a cause. The partisans of Mr. Pitt will, doubtless, perceive it in the introduction of that gentleman, together with those other statesmen, Lords Melville, Camden and Mulgrave, into the cabinet. But, still all the "*incapacity* and *imbecility*" remain, except that portion of them that were turned out with Lord St. Vincent and Mr. Yorke; for, as to the Duke of Portland, every one knows, that he meddled not with the measures relating to the military defence of the country. And, whatever errors might have been justly imputed to Lord St. Vincent, there are very few persons, who will venture to say, that he was justly chargeable with "*incapacity* or *imbecility*." Want of capacity or of energy was never even thought to belong to his character. And, in the general charges, of this sort, brought against the former cabinet, Mr. Yorke was never selected as a person *more* incapable or imbecile than any of his colleagues. At any rate, seven tenths of the "*incapacity* and "*imbecility*" of the former cabinet must be regarded as contained in the present cabinet; and, therefore, Mr. Pitt must unsay what he said upon Mr Fox's motion, he must confess that he gave an *untrue* description of seven of his present colleagues; or, he must insist that he and the three others who have come into the cabinet with him possess all the present capacity and energy, and the seven are mere "NOSES;" or, he must assent to the propriety of going into the proposed committee. Which of the three he will choose is uncertain; but, if we may judge from the language of his leading print, THE SUN, where the office of President of the Council is termed "a sort of "*half retirement*," an office of "*mere dig*-"*nity*, entirely separate from the *originating* "*or the deciding upon great public measures*, "*particularly such as relate to war or peace*;" if we may judge from this language, as well as from that which is heard in all the circles of Mr. Pitt's friends, he will choose the second ground of objection to the intended motion of Mr. Windham. If he should, however, he will have to refer to *something that he has done*, whence the parliament ought to conclude, that he and his three colleagues possess more capacity and energy than fall to the share of his seven other colleagues; and here his auditors will naturally turn to the effect of his measure for raising an "additional force and for providing a "permanent supply for the regular army." With respect to the last cabinet, he called upon the parliament to judge of their future measures by their past measures; and, the time now seems to be come, when his conduct is no longer to be exempted from the rules whereby that of other men is to be judged.——One of the ministerial writers, anticipating this embarrassment, has endeavoured to pave the way for a pretext, whereon the necessity of the proposed committee is to be denied. "It can hardly be *seriously* contended," says he, "that this country is "*now* in any imminent danger." On this most impudent assertion a better comment cannot be found than that which Mr. Pitt himself made upon the confidence in the former cabinet, expressed by Sir William Curtis. "That blind and false confidence "which exposes the safety of our country! "That confidence which sacrifices our pub-"lic security for the sake of screening the "government from censure! Is this the "kind of security which the honourable Ba-"ronet boasts of as operating so powerfully "on his mind, as to induce him to retire "this evening, and lay down his head on "his pillow with confidence? It is a dangerous

" and alarming confidence; a confidence " which benumbs our senses, and lulls us to " sleep while the enemy is at our gates; a " confidence which cannot fail to excite the " most lively emotions in the minds of men " of serious reflexion, when contrasting the " terrible activity of the enemy with the " alarming supineness of our government. " Some gentlemen, under the immediate in- " fluence of such a confidence, may accuse " me of drawing a gloomy picture of pub- " lic affairs. I beg leave, however, to be " understood, that I by no means present " such a view of the times to depress our " national spirit. I mean no melancholy " forbodings to check the career of prepara- " tion against our common enemy and that " of mankind. I only wish to remove the " veil of deception from before our eyes, to " scout that false confidence under which " ministers shelter themselves, a confidence, " which, if passed over in silence, may en- " danger the very existence of the nation, " because it *avows and cherishes a trick upon* " *itself.*" * How just was this! And how just will it be when applied to our present situation, and to the language of those foolish or designing men, who are now preparing to resist inquiry upon the ground of confidence in the ministers! But, it is curious to observe, that, these very writers who are, when *inquiry* is proposed, preparing to assert, that the dangers of the country are *now over*, never let pass a single day, without imploring us to join heart and hand " in " this awful *crisis* of our *fate.*" By joining heart and hand, they mean joining in support of the ministry, let them do what they will; and, it was only a day or two before parliament met, that the person who writes in the Morning Post newspaper, had a long exhortation to " forbear from all opposition " *till the awful dangers of the country were* " *over*," and that too at the very time that he was asserting, that the catamarans and Mr. Pitt's military measures, had " set the " question of invasion *at rest for ever!*" What, however, do we learn from higher authority? The mover of the address in the House of Commons *begins* by expressing his hope, that nothing will " disturb the una- " nimity which ought to prevail at *so momen-* " *tous a crisis*;" and the seconder of that address *ends* with calling it " *a crisis so mo-* " *mentous.*" The Speech itself calls on us for continued exertions, for " additional bur- " dens," and " great efforts and sacrifices;" and, we know too, that this call will not be in vain, as far, at least, as relates to the " burdens" and " sacrifices." And, is there, then, no necessity for inquiry? Is there less necessity for inquiring into the state of our military force than there was in April last, because we have seen that the grand measure of the present minister has completely failed, and because he has now formed a coalition with those persons whom he turned out under the charge of " *incapa-* " *city* and *imbecility?*" Or, has the necessity of inquiring into military matters been done away by the new war, in which he has involved us since the last motion for inquiry was made? Or by the prospect, which we are told there is, of continental alliances, and, of course, of an English army being wanted upon the Continent? Indeed, it must be evident, that, if ever there was a time that called for the serious deliberation of parliament upon the subject of our military means, that time now is; and, when we recollect the numerous instances, in which we have been told, that we ought not to deliberate, *because the occasion was pressing*, the objection to deliberation now urged by the ministerial writers, cannot be ascribed to any other motive than that of the anxious wish, on the part of their employers, to be screened from the effects of parliamentary investigation.——This topic ought not to be dismissed without a remark or two upon the attempt, which these writers are making, to give to the proposed motion of Mr. Windham a *party* complexion; to represent that gentleman as having caught at a lucky coincidence of circumstances, in order to embarrass, and expose the inconsistency and imbecility of the minister. Such motive, supposing Mr. Windham to be convinced that the prolongation of the minister's power will tend to the ruin of the country (a supposition by no means improbable) would merit applause rather than censure; but, is it possible for any one, who has been an observer of Mr. Windham's conduct, and, particularly, any one who has paid attention to his unremitted efforts, to his continual labours, to his constant earnestness and anxiety, upon the subject of our military force; is it possible for such a person to believe, that the proposed motion proceeds from a party motive, especially when that motive can extend no further than the low desire of triumphing over him, who has now sought protection under the shield of those, whom, but a few months ago, he branded with the marks of " *incapacity* and *imbecility!*" Can any one, who witnessed the conduct of Mr. Windham during the two years following the preliminaries of peace, who saw him voting in a minority of twenty, frequently con-

* Parliamentary Debates, Vol. I, p. 923.

tending for months without a single cheering voice; can any one who has read his speeches upon the military force of the country, from the proposition to augment the Scotch militia in 1802 to the present day, who has been an observer of his unconquerable perseverance against popular and parliamentary prejudice, and who has seen, that, step by step, all his opinions and all his predictions have been verified even to the very letter; can any such person believe, that he is *now* actuated by the vulgar, the grovelling motive, of obtaining a momentary victory in debate! Long, very long, it is evident, that his mind has been turned to the subject which he appears now so anxious to urge to a discussion; and, it is not less evident, nor indeed less generally acknowledged, that he has therein attained to that degree of perfection, to which a mind like his, steadily directed to any one object, must naturally be expected to attain. He appears to have clearly foreseen, that the troubles of Europe must lead to the commencement of a *military age*, and, therefore, to have been desirous to prepare his country for maintaining its greatness in that new state of things, that state of things, which, let apathy, avarice, or cowardly blindness say what they will, has now arrived. Prompted by this laudable desire, he has persevered with a constancy, which, under similar circumstances, is unparalleled in the annals of parliament; and, can any man, not himself divested of every dignified sentiment, for a moment believe, that he now pants for the honour of merely discomfiting Mr. Pitt! The object of the motion is evidently what it professes to be, to obtain the means of entering into an ample and solemn investigation of the causes, which have prevented this country, with a population of fifteen millions of souls, from having an army equal in numbers to that of many a state not having a population of more than five or six millions of souls; and, when these causes are clearly exposed, to endeavour to remove them, and to place us in a situation, in which we shall no longer be harassed with volunteerings and requisitions and ballotings; in which the dress, the name, and the honours of the soldier shall be given to the soldier alone; in which the profession of arms shall be rescued from its present state of humiliation and misery: in which the political and civil liberties of the people shall not be undermined by an intermixture and confusion of military, political, and civil authorities, functions, and duties; in which we might, in war, without an empty boast, bid defiance to our enemy, and, what is of still greater importance, in which we might *safely make peace.*

COMMUNICATION FROM NAPOLEON. ——The foregoing topic has barely left me room to say, that the others, enumerated at the head of the Summary, will be taken up in the next sheet. A remark or two must, however, be made upon the subject of the Communication from Napoleon, "containing," as the Speech informs us, "professions of a pacific disposition." And these remarks must almost solely be confined to the exposing of certain misrepresentations in the ministerial prints relative to the language of Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox upon this part of the Speech. After mentioning the pacific professions of France, the Speech proceeds thus: "I have, in "consequence, expressed my earnest de- "sire to embrace the first opportunity of "restoring the blessings of peace on such "grounds as may be consistent with the "permanent safety and interests of my do- "minions; but I am confident you will "agree with me, that those objects are "closely connected with the general se- "curity of Europe; I have therefore not "thought it right to enter into any more "particular explanation, without previous "communication with those Powers on the "Continent with whom I am engaged in "confidential intercourse and connexion, "with a view to this important object, and "especially with the Emperor of Russia, "who has given the strongest proofs of the "wise and dignified sentiments by which "he is animated, and of the warm interest "he takes in the safety and indepen- "dence of Europe."——Upon this part of the Speech the ministerial writers have represented Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox as being decidedly at variance in opinion, the former applauding it as a mark of the determination of ministers not to listen to proposals for peace on any terms; and the latter condemning it, as expressive of an intention to delay the entering upon negotiations with France immediately, and without consulting our allies. Nothing can be falser than this representation, as will be testified by every one who heard the debates, and, as will clearly appear, when those debates are published in their correct state. ——[Want of room compels me to break off, but the subject shall be resumed in my next.]

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